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ABSTRACT

In 1976, Jamaican government officals claimed that their island had received an especially negative press in the United States during 1975 and 1976 with serious consequences for the economy and tourist trade. This accusation was not made about Canadian coverage, with one major exception, and Canadian tourism to Jamaica increased during those years while U.S. tourism fell off considerably. A study was conducted with the hypothesis that coverage of Jamaica by the Canadian press was more positive than that of the U.S. press and that coverage of social change was less often presented in a cold war context in the Canadian press. An analysis of six daily newspapers in the U.S. and three in Canada showed that negative coverage in the two countries was about the same but that U.S. coverage did tend to emphasize the cold war context more than the Canadian coverage did. In addition, interviews with travel agents in both countries revealed that Canadian travel agents discounted negative news much more than their U.S. counterparts. It is suggested that media coverage had less effect on tourism than did the mediated influence of travel agents. (TJ)

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COVERAGE OF JAMAICA IN THE U.S. AND CANADIAN PRESS IN 1976

A Study of Press Bias and Effect

By

Marlene Cuthbert and Vernone Sparkes

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COVERAGE OF JAMAICA IN THE U.S. AND CANADIAN PRESS IN 1976:

A Study of Press Bias and Effect

Public attitudes about foreign affairs are largely formed on the basis of knowledge gained through the mass media, rather than through firsthand experience. As Lippmann has noted, ". . . the only feeling that anyone can have about an event he does not experience is a feeling aroused by his mental image of that event."[1] The press, however, is of necessity selective in foreign coverage, and tends to emphasize events meeting such news values as timeliness, personification, and negativity.[2] Negativity has been identified as one of the most powerful of these news values.

In 1976 the Jamaican government claimed that their island had received an especially negative U.S. press during '75 and '76 with serious consequences for the economy and the tourist trade. With one major exception, this accusation was not made about Canadian coverage, and Canadian tourism to Jamaica actually increased in 1975 and 1976 while U.S. tourism fell considerably. This raises the question of whether Jamaica received significantly different coverage in the U.S. and Canadian press, which might be associated with the tourism changes. The present study investigates these questions by comparing the total coverage of Jamaica in selected U.S. and Canadian newspapers and newsmagazines for 1976, and correlating the findings with tourism statistics and information from a survey of travel agencies.

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1976 was a critical year of social change in Jamaica, climaxing Prime Minister Manley's 1974 announcement of a government policy of democratic socialism. Parliamentary elections were held in December, 1976 to determine whether the public would accept democratic socialism or revert to the more conservative policies of the opposition leader, Edward Seaga. Jamaica had a per capita income of about 831 dollars[4] (U.S.) and an unemployment rate of well over 20% with an equal number of people being underemployed.[5] The democratic socialist program emphasized the development of a strong public sector as part of a mixed economy. It included a minimum wage ($20 per week), cooperative farming, landleasing, an emphasis on housing, health and education (especially literacy). In foreign policy, Manley declared for the New Economic Order and expanding relations with Third World and socialist countries, while maintaining traditional ties.

Jamaica depends on bauxite, tourism and sugar for its foreign exchange. The world market price of sugar fell from 65.5¢ a pound in Nov., 1974 to 7.5¢ a pound in Sept., 1976.[6] In 1976, Canadian and U.S. firms that mine Jamaican bauxite cut back sharply in their operations.[7] This made the success of tourism even more critical for Jamaica. However, the largest tourist market, that of the U.S., declined by over 30% in 1975 and 1976 (Table I) while the Canadian market continued to increase.

(Table I about here)

In reaction to such developments, Jamaicans expressed concern that interests both inside and outside the country were threatened by certain government actions. In particular they felt that the Prime Minister's policy of democratic socialism, his positive response to his visit to Cuba in 1975, his declarations of a 'Third World' outlook for Jamaica, as well as the approach of parliamentary elections, resulted in efforts to 'destabilize' the government in the hope that it would lose the election.

The term destabilization was described by the Latin American editor of the Miami Herald as being "taken from the lexicon of covert CIA activities against the government of Chile's late Marxist President Salvador Allende...'[8] The charge of destabilization was made by three Caribbean Prime Ministers during 1976.[9] The Miami Herald quoted Prime Minister Manley on the subject:

> Suddenly you find an upsurge of industrial unrest, the most incredible and inexplicable strikes begin to take place and not even the trade unionist can understand what causes some of them; the upsurge of unexplained violence, organized letters to the press, internationally orchestrated articles for newspaper publication, economic squeezes, slowing down and entangling of aid wherever possible...[10]

Time magazine quoted a report by the U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Affairs to a House subcommittee, that allegations of U.S. interference were 'totally false.' "If American citizens are engaged privately in 'destabilizing' activities...we are prepared to cooperate fully with the governments of the area to bring them to justice," he commented. An opinion piece in the Washington Post nevertheless maintained that

> there can be no doubt that the internal attack on the Manley government -- a campaign of violence and lies plus strikes -- combined with the external attack from

> the U.S. press, plus a currency leak and what on June 20, Mr. Manley told me was a 'mysterious credit squeeze,' add up to a destabilization campaign. [12]

A connection between negative press coverage and the tourist decline was made repeatedly. The Jamaica Tourist Board reported that "One of the reasons for the decline in the number of visitors can be attributed to the unfavourable publicity which Jamaica received throughout 1976."[13] Canada's High Commissioner in Kingston claimed that "With respect to tourism, Jamaica's biggest problem is the foreign press. About that there can be no doubt whatever."[14] And when Canada's major charter to Jamaica cancelled its flights in December, 1976, the airline president stated that poor publicity about Jamaica's current political situation had frightened Canadian travellers into believing the situation was dangerous, even though "Jamaica is more stable than ever before."[15]

U.S. papers often linked the decline of tourism to the reporting of violence. In February, the Miami Herald referred to "sporadic outbreaks of localized violence" and stated that "the international headlines it has generated have negatively affected the tourist industry, the major pillar of the Jamaican economy."[16] In June, the Wall St. Journal stated that "Largely because of publicity about the violence in Jamaica...there has been a drastic decline in American tourism there this year."[17] In July a Journal headline read "Wave of Violence in Jamaica Reduces its Tourist Business."

FOREIGN NEWS IN THE CANADIAN AND AMERICAN PRESS

It has been widely charged that press coverage of the third world by developed countries is inadequate. Though most studies of third world coverage have not focused on Canada, indications are that the U.S. and Canada devote similar amounts of coverage to the third world.[19] Thus at least some generalizations about American coverage are also applicable to Canada.

Hester's studies of news from Latin America, Asia and Africa found far less U.S. news from developing than developed nations. In terms of quality he found that, for the developing world, fewer subjects were mentioned than for the developed world.[20] And he found that most U.S. news was concerned with threats to U.S. interests or with culturally similiar peoples.[21] McNelly's research on Latin America also found many subjects neglected, notably education, agriculture, science, medicine, art and literature. He concluded that the U.S. press neglects positive achievements of Latin America in favor of news about disaster, violence or crisis.[22] Bagdikian's study of three American news magazines suggested that the picture of the world they present is often biased, distorted, or factually false.[23] In a content analysis of foreign news in four geographically dispersed prestige U.S. papers, Semmel found the news about underdeveloped countries to be event oriented and sketchy, and "largely a function of their involvement with developed societies."[24]

Such reporting is, in part, a function of the news values which guide a reporter's selections, omissions, emphases and modes of presentation. Negativity, as mentioned earlier, is one of the most common news values. Hester found that, of the little space reserved for third world news, much

of it was negative.[25] An emphasis on negativity in the news has different implications for foreign, as opposed to domestic coverage. On the domestic scene there are other information sources to help provide a balance. In relation to foreign coverage, however, these balancing sources are rarely available. Hence people form opinions based on inadequate information.

Other studies have focused on U.S. press coverage of social revolution. The sociologist, C. Wright Mills believed that it was impossible for American reporters to cover a social revolution adequately, simply because the phenomenon is completely alien to their experience.[26] Knudson found the U.S.press to be hostile to social change elsewhere in the hemisphere. He also found it to be shallow. Regarding its reporting of Chile in 1973, he commented that

> Surface violence was admirably captured under the most difficult of conditions, but underlying social economic and political causitive factors were largely ignored. Our men and women...may have reported the battle well, but they missed the war altogether.[27] (emphasis added)

An important example of this is the tendency for international news to be seen within the context of the cold war and to be described in cold war terminology.[28] A 1920 study by Lippman and Merz described the New York Times reporting of the Russian revolution as highly biased.[29] Twenty years later while working with the New York Times, Aronson found that "All stories were 'balanced', which meant that the interpretation was never favorable to a socialist country."[30] His book is a documentation of the claim that the U.S. press "helped to lead the nation into accepting a quarter century of the Cold War..."[31] In 1961 Sollen complained of a greater tendency by the press services to justify State Department cold war policy than

to research, analyze, and report international relations in a detached manner.[32]

More recently, Tatarian probed the limitations of such reporting:

> There is a tendency to report in Cold War terms and to give East-West explanations to situations that are in fact to a much greater degree African or Asian or Latin American in character and significance. Simplistic labels like pro-American or pro-Soviet, or pro-East and pro-West, do not accurately reflect the movements that are at work in many Third World countries.[33]

This is one point at which Canadian attitudes might be expected to differ. Canada has pursued its "Third Option" of increasing self-reliance by diversifying relations and developing stronger ties with countries and regions of the world other than the U.S. This distinctive Canadian perspective has been evident in many situations, inter alia, the decision not to sever diplomatic or trade relations with Cuba, the recognition of China in 1970, the decision to bar Taiwanese athletes at the Montreal Olympics, and the imposition of legislation relating to foreign investment in Canada.[34]

Such a perspective, as it relates to Jamaica, was evident in a Toronto Star editorial immediately after Manley's re-election.

> The result of the Jamaican election obviously won't please Washington but it should be entirely satisfactory to Ottawa.... Manley's credentials are suspect in Washington for two reasons, neither of them of any great concern to Canada. First, he favors developing relationships with Cuba, and Castro's Cuba still sends American blood pressure soaring. Second, American business sees it $1 billion investment threatened by Manley's Socialist reforms....
>
> What should concern Canadians now is co-operation with the newly re-elected government to help solve Jamaica's critical economic problems....
>
> The danger now is not that the Manley government is receptive to Cuban communism, but that outside indifference or, in the case of the U.S. hostility, will force Jamaica in the direction of totalitarian solutions for its problems.[35]

A sharply contrasting reaction to Manley's election was exhibited by a U.S. weekly newsmagazine. Newsweek's analysis of the election seemed to fulfill the Star's editorial prediction about U.S. reaction. The writer, a senior editor of Newsweek, said that

> ...after several weeks of investigation, I can report that Manley's triumph was made possible, in part, by the direct support of Cuba's secret service, the Direccion General de Intelligencia (DGI) -- and by some help from Philip Agee, 42, the former CIA man who has become one of the agency's harshest critics.[36]

The article quoted senior intelligence sources but produced no hard evidence. And it concluded with the statement "Whether Manley intends it or not, Jamaica could become the next country to go Marxist."[37]

So although we might normally expect the Canadian press to perform similarly to the American in the matter of foreign news, two factors suggest that this will not hold true for coverage of recent social change in Jamaica. For one thing, the tourism level from Canada has not changed nearly as drastically as did that from the United States. If the suggested connection between press coverage and tourism is true, then we should expect Canadian coverage to be more positive. Also, Canadian attitudes towards Cold War issues, if indeed more liberal, should further result in a more favorable press, with less highlighting of Cold War implications. Two hypotheses follow, then, concerning press performance in the 1976 period.

H_1: Coverage of Jamaica by the Canadian press will be more positive than coverage by the United States press.

H_2: Coverage of social change in Jamaica will be presented less often in a cold war context in the Canadian press than in the United States press.

Beyond the formal hypotheses, however, there is also a causal expectation to be investigated here; namely, that any difference in press coverage does indeed account for the differences in tourism.

METHOD

The study analyzed all Jamaican coverage in six dailies from the United States and three from Canada for 1976 and January, 1977.[38] The papers were chosen, not as a random sample of all papers, but because they are a major source of news for areas of the two countries which provide the majority of tourists and investors for Jamaica.[39] Newspapers analyzed included the Miami Herald, Washington Post, New York Times, Wall Street Journal, Boston Globe, and Buffalo Evening News in the United States, and the Montreal Star, Ottawa Citizen and Toronto Star in Canada. Newsmagazines, Time and Newsweek of the U.S., and MacLean's of Canada, were also coded.

All coverage of Jamaica (excluding advertisements) was coded according to the following categories: placement in the paper, dateline, column inches, source, headline, headline subject, article subject, article treatment (i.e., whether positive, neutral, or negative as seen from the point of view of the North American reader), and news/opinion (the latter included columnists and editorials). Two subject categories may require some explanation. Stories and headlines were classified as having 'Cold War' content if they described Jamaica's politics in terms of its relationship to Cuba or communism. News came under the 'Development' category if a story was linked with social, economic and political structures, so as to give some feeling of the process of events, and changing the level of analysis to include the meaning and significance of events.

To provide a baseline measure of reality as interpreted by Jamaicans, Jamaica's major newspaper, The Daily Gleaner, was also coded for all stories

on events that were covered abroad, and for all other lead stories.[40]

Telephone interviews were conducted with travel agents to obtain information on their perception as to the effect of the press on travel to Jamaica in 1976. A structured questionnaire was used to interview twenty-five agents in New York and twenty-five in Toronto, who advertised themselves in the yellow pages as agents for the Caribbean.[41] It was reasoned that since travel agents have direct contact with tourists, they would be authoritative sources on the attitudes of travelers towards Jamaica and their reaction to press coverage. If an actual correlation between tourism and press coverage were found, then such travel agency information would strengthen a causal interpretation.

FINDINGS

A total of 272 stories were coded, 189 in U.S. papers and 83 in Canadian papers. As would be expected because of its proximity to Jamaica, the Miami Herald carried the largest number of stories (53), followed by the Toronto Star (43), New York Times (37), Wall St. Journal (35), and Washington Post (31). Among the remaining papers, the Montreal Star, Ottawa Citizen and Boston Globe each carried about twenty stories on Jamaica, while the Buffalo Evening News carried fourteen. (Table 2)

(Table 2 about here)

The Miami Herald also led in number of column inches, followed in this case by the Washington Post, Toronto Star, and New York Times. The rest of the papers each carried seven percent or less of the total column inches.

Table 3 presents a breakdown of stories by length. In the U.S., short and medium categories each accounted for about 45% of stories coded, while Canada had about 51% short and 43% medium stories. Analysis of individual

(Table 3 about here)

newspapers indicated that the Boston Globe, Wall St. Journal, and Ottawa Citizen all used 65% or more short stories. Over 80% of the Washington Post items were medium long. For the Miami Herald and the Montreal Star, this figure was over 60%. (This comparison of total column inches in different papers has a bias, however, in that the papers have different sized newsholes.)

Figures for the sources of Jamaican news (Table 4) indicated only a very moderate degree of homogeneity. This stemmed mainly from the fact that Reuters was Canada's primary source of news on Jamaica, providing 36% of the coverage, while for U.S. papers it provided only 8% of the news. Thus Reuters alone provided over one-third of Jamaican news in Canadian papers.

The Staff category accounted for the largest percentage of Jamaican news in the U.S. papers and the second largest in the Canadian press. This category is unreliable however, as it sometimes included slightly rewritten

(Table 4 about here)

wire stories with attribution to Staff. While AP and UPI each accounted for approximately 10% of coverage in the U.S., 11% of Canadian stories were

credited to AP and less than 4% to UPI. AP was the only wire service which both countries used as much as 10% of the time for coverage of Jamaica.

Examination of sources used by individual papers indicated that the Wall St. Journal relied by far the most heavily on Staff for Jamaican stories (71.4% of the time). It is understandable in light of the Journal's specialized coverage, that the wire services would not meet its needs. The Washington Post carried a Staff byline for 58% of stories and, of the major wire services, used only Reuters.

Hypothesis one, that more negative news about Jamaica would occur in the U.S. than in the Canadian press, was not upheld. (Table 5). Both countries had approximately the same large amount of negative news (U.S., 70.4%; Canada, 73.5%). The news of all papers except the Wall St. Journal

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(Table 5 about here)

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was more than 60% negative. The Boston Globe led with about 90%, then the NYT with about 87% and the Toronto Star with approximately 81%.

When one examines newsmagazines, however, one finds that though all stories on Jamaica are predominately negative, MacLean's of Canada presents a sympathetically negative picture. The one very long article (279 col. in.) attempted to get inside the society and explain the reasons for violence rather than simply document its presence. No similar article appeared in the American news magazines included in this study.[42]

The negative character of press coverage was demonstrated further in the distribution of subject categories. Stories stressing human interest events, development, culture and education comprised only about 16% of the U.S. news

and about 22% of Canadian news. Using the Jamaican Gleaner as a baseline of Jamaican reality, we found that a major cultural event which received banner headlines for four days in Jamaica and daily coverage for a month in July and early August, received no coverage in the U.S. and Canada. This was the second Caribbean Festival of the Arts (CARIFESTA) in which the dance, drama, music and art of the four language areas of the Caribbean region were presented in Kingston for a ten day period. Hotels and private homes in the Kingston area were filled with tourists, including many North Americans, especially those from black and West Indian backgrounds. CARIFESTA was totally ignored at the time and received only one oblique reference some weeks later in a Washington Post article.[43]

In addition, the Gleaner contained many articles discussing various aspects of Jamaican development while the U.S. press mentioned development in only about two percent of articles. The Canadian press was slightly more oriented to development issues, mentioning it in over eight percent of articles.

For both the U.S. and Canada, the most popular subjects were Politics and Violence/Crime. The issue of destabilization was mentioned in about six percent of U.S. stories and nearly eleven percent of Canadian stories.

(Table 6 about here)

Comparison of subject categories in papers from cities in which travel agencies were interviewed (Table 6), shows that the Toronto Star had a much larger percentage of stories mentioning violence and crime (63%) than the New York Times (46%). But the Star had considerably fewer sto-

ries which mentioned the Cold War (14%) than the NYT (24%).

The hypothesis that Jamaican news would be presented more often in a cold war context by the U.S. press than the Canadian press was upheld to some degree. Cold war language was used by 21.2% of U.S. articles and 15.7% of Canadian articles. In headlines, the difference was greater. Table 7 shows that nine percent of U.S. headlines used cold war terms while only 4.8% of Canadian papers did. Headlines such as the following are illustrative: "Jamaica, Guyana to Support Marxists in Angola,

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(Table 7 about here)

U.S. Intelligence Predicts"[44] and "Cuban Connection Brings Bloodshed to Jamaica."[45] The latter article stated that "Prime Minister Manley's People's National Party has aligned itself with Communist Cuba, although Manley says he believes in democratic socialism." Since there was no attempt to explain the nature of the alignment or of democratic socialism in practice, it could be assumed that the statement was made mainly for its ability to arouse cold war fears.

The cold war emphasis occurred far more in American than in Canadian newsmagazines. MacLean's mentioned the charges of a "Cuban connection" only once and prefaced that paragraph with the Prime Minister's statement "I am to my backbone a democrat." Time had two short negative stories on Jamaica "Jah Kingdom Goes to Waste" and "Castro's Pal Wins Again," both making much of the Cuban connection and the former story commenting that "Washington is less than happy about Manley's warming friendship with Fidel Castro."[46]

Newsweek had three stories in the time period under consideration but a fourth story, appearing on February 28, 1977, was also analyzed since it was a reaction to the election. All the stories raise the spectre of Manley's "flirtation with Fidel Castro,"[47] but the February story "Cuba's Role in Jamaica" makes serious and unsubstantiated charges of Cuban involvement in Jamaica.

DISCUSSION

While the formal hypotheses of this study did not include a causal relationship between press coverage and tourism, the suggestion by others of such a relationship raised serious questions for empirical investigation. Finding a correlation between Canadian press coverage and Canada's higher rate of tourism to Jamaica would have supported a causal assumption, but would not have proven it. The failure to find a correlation (i.e. tourism change was different while press coverage was similar) certainly does considerable damage to the notion that press coverage was a determining factor in the dramatic decrease in American tourism.

As noted previously, travel agents were interviewed in Toronto and New York to possibly add support to a causal hypothesis, should the correlation between coverage and tourism be found. Rather than supplying such support, however, the data from these interviews actually help to explain the lack of correlation.

Twenty-five Canadian and 21 U.S. travel agents said that press coverage did affect their clients' interest in traveling to Jamaica in 1976. The newspaper was perceived by the majority of agents to be the medium having the most influence. However, there was considerable discrepancy in the degree to which agents in the two countries were prepared to accept the press version of Jamaican events. While

half of the Canadian travel agents believed that the press exaggerated the situation, only one-fifth of the American agents expressed this belief. And Canadian agents had a greater tendency to counter press coverage with more positive comments.

In reply to an open-ended question about the possible causes of change in level of tourism to Jamaica, eight Toronto travel agents identified the press as the primary cause, making comments such as the following:

> Do you read the papers? The media smeared the front page with a few crummy articles that naturally turn people off. As much as we said it was okay, people didn't want to go there.
>
> Bad press for Jamaica may have caused tourism generally to fall off, but we boost Jamaica because we know it, and our business to that destination increased.
>
> Bad publicity, media. Media did a terrific job in a negative sense.
>
> Bad publicity which was not quite true. Newspaper articles had everybody getting shot before breakfast. But violence was just in Kingston and tourists stay in Montego Bay and Ocho Rios.
>
> People were frightened of going to Jamaica because they heard bad press stories about the political situation. These were exaggerated but affected tourists anyhow.

In addition, while answering a different question,[49] four other Canadian agents condemned the press in the following words:

> We told clients that press reports must be cut in quarter; the press has to make a living and you can't believe most of it.
>
> Press coverage is a lot of hogwash as far as I'm concerned.
>
> The press blows things out of proportion and frightens people away.
>
> Any incident in Jamaica was magnified by the press. If the same thing happened elsewhere, it wouldn't be mentioned. For political reasons, Jamaica was picked on.

Thus, 12 Canadian agents were emphatic about not accepting the picture of Jamaica presented by the press.

In the U.S., on the other hand, only four agents attempted to counter the press coverage. One agent said there was "unjust bad publicity -- one or two isolated incidents mostly in Kingston, were blown out of proportion and spread from coast to coast." Another agent referred to the press coverage as "rumors," and a third said "negative news reports were blown out of proportion in our opinion." A fourth agent, who seemed to hint at conspiracy behind the negative coverage, said

> there was an adverse propaganda system against Jamaica, saying that people were being killed, that there was a threat of violence and communists, and people might not be able to get out. I can't say what caused the negative propaganda over the phone. If I talk to you personally, I would tell you.

Among the majority of U.S. agents who accepted the negative press picture of Jamaica, three agents also identified Cuba or communism as a reason for changes in tourist travel to Jamaica, while no Canadians did so. This seems to reflect the finding of a larger amount of Cold War coverage which the study identified in the U.S. press. American travel agents commented that tourist travel was reduced because "People were afraid that Mr. Manley's government was turning communistic," because of "political riots and the Cuba connection," and because of "nervousness about the political situation, especially Cuba."

Thus, while half of the Canadian agents interviewed did not accept the picture of Jamaica as presented in the press, four-fifths of the U.S. agents made no attempt to counter the press coverage. One can surmise that these contrasting views of the situation in Jamaica were reflected in the advise given to clients.

At the time of the survey (May, 1977) all Canadian travel agents were recommending Jamaica as a destination, while two U.S. agents were not. One of the latter said that her agency did not push Jamaica if people said they were thinking of it and that "most people are repeat customers and take our advice."

These findings suggest, then, that in the case of tourism, media coverage of foreign affairs does not always have a direct effect. The press does not operate independently in determining whether people select a particular destination. Coverage in both the U.S. and Canada was equally negative, but the public of the two countries responded differently. The difference could well stem from the opinion leadership role of travel agents which appears to have taken different directions in the two countries. Travel agents, then, could have functioned as critical mediators between the public and the press.

FOOTNOTES

1. Public Opinion, New York: The Free Press, 1965 (MacMillan Company, 1922), p. 9.

2. Johan Galtung and Mari Holmboe Ruge, "The Structure of Foreign News", Journal of Peace Research, 2, 1965, 64-91.

3. Toronto Star (9/25/76) carried two stories, "Cuban Connection Brings Bloodshed to Jamaica" and "Get Out, White Man," which the Jamaican High Commissioner to Canada characterized as "innuendo and untruth." (Toronto Star, 10/16/76)

4. New York Times, December 15, 1977, p.3.

5. Economic and Social Survey, 1975, National Planning Agency, Jamaica.

6. The Daily Gleaner, Jamaica, September 21, 1976.

7. "Foul Wind for Jamaica", Maclean's, December 13, 1976.

8. "Charges of 'Destabilization' Grow in Caribbean" by Don Bohning, June 22, 1976.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

11. "'Jah Kingdom Goes to Waste'", June 28, 1976.

12. "What Future for Jamaica" by Saul Landau. August 25, 1976.

13. Travel Statistics - Jamaica, 1976, p.2.

14. MacLean's, Dec. 13, 1976.

15. Max Ward, Montreal Star, Nov. 7, 1976. A week later the flights were reinstated because enough people were still interested in going to Jamaica to "profitably operate the flight" and the airline president stated "We wouldn't go there if there was a possibility of danger to our passengers." (Toronto Star, Nov. 24, 1976.)

16. "Jamaica Building up to a Political Showdown," Feb. 12, 1976.

17. "U.S. State Department declares Jamaica a 'hardship' post." June 21, 1976.

18. July 8, 1976.

19. Vernone M. Sparkes & Gertrude Joch Robinson, "International News in the Canadian and American Press: A Comparative news flow study. GAZETTE, Vol. XXII, No.4, 1976.

20. Al Hester, "An Analysis of News Flow from Developed and Developing Nations," Gazette, 17, No.1 (1971), pp.29-43.

21. Al Hester, "The Western News Agencies: Problems and Opportunities in International News," Paper presented to seminar on The Role of Information in the New International Order, Latin American Institute for Transnational Studies, Mexico City, 1976.

22. John T. McNelly, "Development of News Exchange in Latin America," Working paper for UNESCO meeting of Experts on the Development of News Exchange Arrangements in Latin America, Quito, 1975. COM-76/CONF 63/3, Unesco, Paris.

23. B.H. Bagdikian, "The newsmagazines." THE NEW REPUBLIC, 16, Feb. 2, 11-16, Feb. 16, 9-14, Feb. 23, 9-15.

24. Andrew K. Semmel, "Foreign News in Four U.S. Elite Dailies: Some Comparisons," JQ 53:4, Winter, 1976, pp.734, 736.

25. Hester, "The Western News Agencies...op cit.

26. C. Wright Mills, Listen Yankee: the Revolution in Cuba, N.Y., 1960, pp.9-10.

27. Jerry W. Knudson, "Allende Falls, The Press Reacts." Masthead Jan., 1974, pp.50-56.

28. John A. Lent, "International News in United States Media: Myths, Stereotypes and Realities." Paper presented at New Trends in Teaching Asia Workshop, Temple University, 1975. ED 117 707.

29. Walter Lippmann and Charles Merz, "A Test of the News," New Republic, Aug. 4, 1920.

30. James Aronson, The Press and the Cold War, Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs Merrill Company, 1970, p.5.

31. Ibid., p.288.

32. Robert H. Sollen, "Nationalistic Bias in Reporting Cold War." Editor & Publisher, July 8, 1960, p.64.

33. Roger Tatarian. "News Flow in the Third World: Some problems and proposals." Paper delivered to conference on "The Third World and Press Freedom," Time-Life Building, N.Y., 1977. Commissioned by the Edward R. Murrow Center of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, p.37.

34. Sidney A. Freifeld, "Some Perspectives on Canadian Public Information in the United States," in News Flow Between Canada and the United States, ed. by Vernone M. Sparkes, Newhouse School of Public Communications, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y., 1976, p.23.

35. December 20, 1976.

36. Arnaud de Borchgrave, "Cuba's Role in Jamaica," February 28, 1977.

37. A very different American reaction should also be noted. Carl T. Rowan, in a Washington Star article dated Dec. 25, 1976, states that Manley's landslide victory poses some important questions for the U.S.:

> Does the U.S. fully accept this expression by Jamaicans of their desire to have more of Manley's brand of socialism? Does the U.S. accept the fact that Manley and Jamaica have economic and other problems which do not permit them to model their society after the U.S., or cling to old policies that have not served the needs of the vast majority of Jamaicans?
> Or do certain factions in the U.S. engage in such panicky predictions that Manley will lead Jamaica into Castro-type Communism that the prophecies become self-fulfilling?

38. January, 1977 was analyzed in order to include reaction to the December election. Intercoder reliability was .957.

39. The Jamaica Tourist Board divides Canada and the U.S. into tourist regions. The regions represented by our sample papers provided 87.5% of Canadian tourists to Jamaica, and 63.3% of U.S. tourists in 1976. The latter figure is actually very conservative since several of the U.S. papers are national rather than regional in influence. (Jamaica Tourist Board, Statistics, 1976).

40. Only about 80% of the Jamaican Gleaner was coded, however, due to missing issues in the Library of Congress. Descriptive observations will be made before analysis of the nature and direction of coverage.

41. (A systematic sample from the telephone book was attempted but proved futile because most agents specialize in particular regions of the world, and know nothing about travel to Jamaica). Interviews were also held with officials of the Jamaica Tourist Board's New York office.

42. Brantford Expositor, Edmonton Journal, Winnipeg Tribune, Calgary Herald, North Bay Nugget, Hamilton Spectator, Owen Sound Sunday Times, Montreal Gazette, Windsor Star, Vancouver Province, Le Quotidien and La Presse. (Source: Jamaica Tourist Board, N.Y.)

43. In January, 1977 a long, very positive feature by the Travel Editor of Southern News Service after he toured Jamaica, appeared in a dozen Canadian newspapers with a combined circulation of over 900,000. However, it probably appeared too late to affect the period under consideration.

44. "What Future for Jamaica," August 25, 1976.

45. Miami Herald, January 8, 1976.

46. Toronto Star, September 9, 1976.

47. January 12, 1976 and De ber 27, 1976.

48. January 12, 1976.

49. The story, by a Senior Editor of Newsweek, received banner headlines in both the Jamaican Daily Gleaner and the Daily News. The Foreign Affairs minister condemned it as "the most vicious, unfounded and inaccurate reporting ever done on Jamaica." He said the article contained "seventeen calculated lies, innumerable half-truths and countless pre-conceptions.." (Daily Gleaner, February 26, 1977).

50. What sort of things about press coverage of Jamaica did clients mention in 1976?

TABLE 1

Total Numbers of American and Canadian Tourists to Jamaica
1972-76

	1976	1975	1974	1973	1972
U.S.	229338	297326	339694	325315	316191
Canada	48516	46769	37445	36867	38331

Source: Travel Statistics - Jamaica, 1976. Compiled by the Jamaica Tourist Board, Kingston, Jamaica.

TABLE 2

Number and Column Inches of U.S. and Canadian Newspaper Stories on Jamaica, 1976

Newspapers	Number of Stories	Column Inches	% of Total Stories For All Papers	% of Total Column Inches For All Papers
New York Times	37	699	13.6	12.1
Wall St. Journal	35	388	12.8	6.7
Washington Post	31	1013	11.4	17.5
Miami Herald	53	1613	19.5	28.3
Boston Globe	19	215	7.0	3.7
Buffalo Evening News	14	372	5.1	6.4
Toronto Star	43	794	15.8	13.7
Ottawa Citizen	20	289	7.4	5.0
Montreal Star	20	410	7.4	7.1
All U.S. Papers	189	4300	69.4	74.2
All Canadian Papers	83	1493	30.6	25.8
All Papers	272	5793	100.0%	100.0%

TABLE 3

% of Short, Medium and Long Stories on Jamaica in the U.S. and Canadian Press, 1976

Newspaper	Short (1-10) in.	Medium (11-50) in.	Long (51+) in.
New York Times	54.1%	37.8%	8.1%
Wall St. Journal	65.7	34.3	0.0
Washington Post	19.4	61.3	19.4
Miami Herald	32.1	54.7	13.2
Boston Globe	68.4	31.6	0.0
Buffalo Evening News	50.0	35.7	14.3
Toronto Star	48.8	46.5	4.7
Ottawa Citizen	65.0	30.0	5.0
Montreal Star	40.0	50.0	10.0
All U.S. Stories	45.5	45	9.5
All Canadian Stories	50.6	43.4	6.0

TABLE 4

Sources of Jamaican Coverage in the U.S. and Canadian Press, 1976

	Source								
	CP	AP	UPI	Reuters	NYT Wire Serv.	Staff	Miami Herald Wire Serv.	Knight	Other
New York Times	0.0%	13.5	8.1	24.3	0.0	37.8	0.0	0.0	16.2
Wall St. Journal	2.9	2.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	71.4	0.0	0.0	22.9
Washington Post	0.0	0.0	0.0	12.9	0.0	58.1	0.0	0.0	29.0
Miami Herald	0.0	11.3	11.3	0.0	0.0	47.2	13.2	0.0	17.0
Boston Globe	0.0	10.5	36.8	10.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	15.8	26.3
Buffalo Even. News	0.0	35.7	14.3	0.0	0.0	14.3	0.0	7.1	28.6
Toronto Star	7.0	4.7	4.7	27.9	0.0	37.2	0.0	0.0	18.6
Ottawa Citizen	0.0	15.0	5.0	40.0	5.1	30.0	0.0	0.0	5.0
Montreal Star	5.0	20.0	0.0	50.0	15.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	5.0
All U.S. Papers	0.5%	10.1%	9.5%	7.9%	0.0%	44.4%	3.7%	2.1%	21.7%
All Can. Papers	4.8%	10.8%	3.6%	36.1%	4.8%	27.7%	0.0%	0.0%	12.0%

TABLE 5

Treatment of Jamaican Stories in the U.S. and Canadian Press, 1976

	Article Treatment		
	Positive	Neutral	Negative
New York Times	5.4%	8.1%	86.5
Wall St. Journal	0.0	57.1	42.9
Washington Post	9.7	25.8	64.5
Miami Herald	5.7	20.8	73.6
Boston Globe	5.3	5.3	89.5
Buffalo Evening News	28.6	0.0	71.4
Toronto Star	14.0	4.7	81.4
Ottawa Citizen	20.0	20.0	60.0
Montreal Star	5.0	25.0	70.0
United States	6.9 (13)	22.8 (43)	70.4 (133)
Canada	13.3 (11)	13.3 (11)	73.5 (61)

TABLE 6

Subject of Stories on Jamaica in the U.S. and Canadian Press, 1976.

Paper	Subject: Politics	Violence/ Crime	Tourism	Cold War	Human Interest	Develop- ment	Destabi- lization	Economics/ Investment	Culture/ Education	Other
New York Times	54.1%	45.9	10.8	24.3	2.7	0.0	5.4	18.9	0.0	2.7
Wall St. Journal	8.6	20.0	2.9	5.7	8.6	0.0	0.0	77.1	0.0	0.0
Washington Post	35.5	25.8	9.7	19.4	9.7	3.2	6.5	29.0	9.7	3.2
Miami Herald	47.2	30.2	9.4	26.4	7.5	5.7	9.4	11.3	5.4	5.7
Boston Globe	52.6	63.2	5.3	31.6	26.3	0.0	10.5	10.5	0.0	10.5
Buffalo Even. N.	50.0	50.0	7.1	21.4	14.3	0.0	7.1	14.3	21.4	0.0
Toronto Star	48.8	62.8	16.3	14.0	16.3	7.0	9.3	7.0	0.0	0.0
Ottawa Citizen	30.0	40.0	15.0	10.0	5.0	0.0	15.0	30.0	0.0	5.0
Montreal Star	30.0	40.0	20.0	25.0	15.0	20.0	10.0	15.0	0.0	5.0
United States	40.2%* (76)	35.4% (67)	7.9% (15)	21.2% (40)	9.5% (18)	2.1% (4)	6.3% (12)	28.0% (53)	4.8% (9)	3.7% (7)
Canada	39.8% (33)	51.8% (43)	16.9% (14)	15.7% (13)	13.3% (11)	8.4% (7)	10.8% (9)	14.5% (12)	0.0%	2.4% (4)

* Percentages exceed 100 because many articles were coded for more than one subject.

TABLE 7

Jamaican Coverage in the U.S. and Canadian Press
Country by Subject(s) of Headlines

	Subject									
	Politics	Violence/ Crime	Tourism	Cold War	Human Interest	Develop- ment	Destabi- lization	Economics/ Investments	Culture/ Education	Other
ited States	32.3%* (61)	30.2% (57)	6.9% (13)	9.0% (17)	7.4% (14)	0.0%	1.6% (3)	22.2% (42)	3.7% (7)	6.9% (13)
nada	28.9% (24)	43.4% (36)	10.8% (9)	4.8% (4)	13.3% (11)	2.4% (2)	6.0% (5)	13.3% (11)	0.0	3.6% (3)

ercentages exceed 100 because many articles were coded for more than one subject.

TABLE 8

Causes of change in level of tourist travel to Jamaica in 1976 as perceived by U.S. and Canadian travel agents

Causes	United States	Canada
Political situation/ unrest	13	12
Violence	5	2
Cuban/Communist connection	4	0
Negative Press Coverage	2	8
Don't know	1	1
No answer	4	2
Other	3	6

N = 25 (U.S.)

N = 25 (Canada)

Replies total more than 25 because many agents gave more than one answer.